105 follow their profession, and had certain supernatural guardian-helpers, such as Coyote, to aid them in their nefarious designs against such persons as had incurred their ill-will. The native term for a shaman is a·ɨowa·l; women might have shamanistic power as well as men, but there were noticeable differences as to how members of the two sexes exercised it. A male a·ɨowa·l could either sicken a person, or cure him of sickness, whereas a woman a·ɨowa·l could only use her power for evil. "Bad" a·ɨowa·ls, women and men who use their power only for giving people "hard luck," are the most feared members of the community; the Tübatulabal gossip about them in low tones and see every misfortune as a result of their malice. The deeds of evil shamans often caused the latter to meet a violent end; exasperated members of the community would first obtain permission from the chief, and then kill such individuals. Curing shamans were on the other hand respected and their prestige grew as the number of cases they cured mounted, just as it dwindled and they became suspect of evil designs when they failed to cure patients. A curing shaman devoted an entire night to ministering to his patient; he danced, sang, and sucked at the affected spot in an effort to extract the disease object which had been injected by witchcraft and was causing the illness. During the night's performance the shaman's animal helper arrived from afar off and advised the shaman how to treat the patient. Any number of persons might witness a curing performance, but the shaman conferred with his supernatural helper privately, outside of the house where the cure was taking place. After extracting the disease object, which often looked like a spider, worm, or clot of blood, the shaman oftentimes gave his patient certain practical advice, such as to move from the dwelling house where he was staying, or to take certain herb medicines. Sometimes a doctor divulged the identity of the witch who had sickened his victim; he always knew, just as he knew who had stolen anything, or where lost objects could be found; if, however, the witch was a relative of his he was likely to shield him or her.

Various herb medicines were also used to treat illness; the plants used were many, but jimsonweed (Datura meteloides) was preëminent among them. Jimsonweed was once a man, who, when he died, told the people to dig his roots if they were in need of help; therefore, before a Tübatulabal digs the roots, he makes a short speech to the plant.

Not only was jimsonweed taken medicinally for various disorders, and used as an anodyne, but young men and women who were past puberty were urged to drink a decoction made from the roots, in order to obtain supernatural guardian spirits and "long life." Small groups of young people who had decided to take jimsonweed were put under the charge of an old man who knew how to ad-

[776]

[p. 5(a)]

262 136 Animal foods, hunting.- Wild game foods included deer (tohi·l), antelope (yÿta'batal), mt. sheep (pa·'at), brown bear (mo'olohy) "which some people ate, some didn't like" (SM), mt. lion (tu··gu·kwÿt), wildcat (mupipi·t), raccoon (kata·l), jackrabbit (šu·'it), cottontail rabbit (tahpunt), wood rat (ha·wal), mice (cÿmil), gray squirrel (cawanÿnt), blue squirrel (šÿ'ÿgal), golden-mantled ground squirrel (pičili·t), small chipmunk-like ground squirrel (taba·yal), white-faced goose (pa·wili·gant), mallard duck (kula·bišt) which "stayed all year,--there were more of these than any other kind" (FP), blue-winged teal (obi··bu·l), canvasback duck (ku·wa·l), mud hens or American coot (ša·yal), mt. quail (tu·kt), valley quail (taka·h), band-tailed pigeon (mokowišt), dove (o·wi·t), blackbird (caki·bÿ·l), bluejay (a·ɣayibišt).

224 776 Men hunting deer, other large game in mts. usually went out in groups of 3-4 persons because of danger at night from White Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); "one man who went out alone saw 4 white coyotes going up into the sky; they ran just as though they were running on the ground" (SM). Hunter out alone at night refrained from building fire lest White Coyote kill him. No especial feelings attached to white deer; "one man saw one once, up by Mt. Whitney, but wasn't afraid of it" (SM).

782 [533] 224 Night before hunters set out old man "who knew the songs" sang all night for hunters who might also join in songs; this old man usually did not accompany hunting party; if successful, hunters gave him piece of deermeat when they returned. Hunters left homes at 2, 3 a.m.; "when they got up in the mts., they sat down, looked around"; if no deer sighted, within short while space cleaned off on ground, eagle down, tobacco and beads put on it; "they gave this to the mts., and when they did this they saw deer right away. Sometimes they just offered eagle down" (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 219).

[237] [276] [301]

224 411 825 [349] Deer shot with sinew-backed bow, cane arrows; at distance 600 ft. could hit, but not kill deer (SM). Wounded deer often "had to be chased whole day"; was dispatched following morning as it lay resting. Small houses or blinds (paŋhamat) made of scrub oak with 6 in.-sq. peephole in one side, sometimes built along deer trails; as beater chased deer down trail past this blind, man stationed inside shot at deer through peephole. Deer-head decoy (to·go·išt) made of deer head stuffed with grass, with horns, neck hide left on, also used. Disguise made by removing flesh, brains, and bones from head and filling up head and neck with dirt, allowing it to dry before removing dirt. Hunter put decoy over head; did not paint body white in imitation of deer; when deer sighted, hunter crept up into bushes and with body concealed, only head showing, he "pretended to fight that bush"; quarry seeing this would approach hunter "wanting to fight him." Occasionally mt. lion would attack hunter wearing such a disguise.

[281]

224 Pits never dug to entrap deer or other large

855 of time, child up to age 7-8 yrs. generally ac-
[857] companying mother wherever she went.

Child of 7, 8 shown navel cord by mother; no
852 reason ascertainable; mother then buried cord outside house (SM) or kept it (FP); LT had lost cord belonging to her eldest son, but no misfortune attributed to this fact.

572 Two unrelated boys or 2 unrelated girls, when
857 about 8 yrs. old, often assumed chum relationship (na·mun); boys exchanged bows, arrows; girls, bracelets; this relationship lasted into adult life. Chums used each other's belongings freely, lived at each other's homes "as much as they wanted to," went out hunting and to get wood together; in later life would never assume face-washing relationship (p. 68) toward each other;
[582] man might marry his chum's sister, but this not obligatory.

852 Children approaching puberty frequently lectured by old man, woman relative at sundown, outside house; no sand paintings drawn. Speech to boys taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 219); FP gave following speech for girls:

539 "Listen to me! I am an old woman and know what to do. Treat the people kindly. Don't be stingy; give visitors food; when they go home they will say good things about you. Don't talk about others (gossip maliciously). Don't stare at a person when you see him coming; you will
[838] see him when he arrives. Treat the old people
[841] well; do not dislike them; the old men too. Don't eat meat or grease when you have your menses; drink only warm water then. Use a stick to scratch your head at this time; if you don't, your hair
[806] will fall out. Don't be angry all the time; if you are, you will get old quickly."

881 Adolescence.- Boys' adolescence ceremony lack-
276 ing; both boys, girls after puberty enjoined to take jimsonweed by old people, to obtain "life";
● 776 many did, but this not obligatory. SM said boys took ants, tobacco for same purpose, but that
[757] these were "too strong" for girls; FP had, however, taken all 3 for specific ailments and in hopes of obtaining "life" (see Autobiography of FP).

[262] At first menses girl ate no meat, grease, or salt for one month; drank only warm water for 6 days; during subsequent periods observed these taboos for length of period only. If menstruating woman ate meat, her husband would not see game (SM); violation of food taboos gave woman cough
[413] she would "never get over" (MM). Scratching stick used. No isolation of girl in separate hut; informants disagreed whether pit used; SM in 1931 said girl at first menstruation stayed in house, being put over little hole which had hot rocks underneath "like the hole a woman used when she had a baby," but that girl was not covered with anything; mother or old woman took care of girl. In 1932 SM denied pit was ever used, except at childbirth. FP said girl went about her ordinary occupations during first period; no pit used.

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyi

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were
532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hi'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk
[776] indicates sites visited, [illegible] figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; pic[illegible] of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

757 cord had dropped off (SM). Entire plant of Hugelia
824 densiflora Benth., foothill floral area, broken
278 up, applied as poultice for ulcers; plant also boiled, decoction drunk for heart disease.

Entire plant Euphorbia polycarpa Benth. (šimindiŋ ti·bo·hišn, rattlesnake medicine), desert, dry areas, pounded, applied as poultice to opened rattlesnake bite; plant boiled and bite washed with decoction.

Entire plant Castilleia miniata Douglas, foothill floral area, boiled, spots affected with poison oak washed with decoction daily for 4, 5 days.

Milky juice from stalks Asclepias erosa Torr. (pololi·wa·bul), desert floral area, rubbed on warts to make them disappear.

Leaves of Polygonum sp. (tamandiŋ ti·bo·hišn, tooth medicine) chewed into quid, which was held in mouth against aching tooth.

Furze from stems of Eriophyllum confertiflorum (DC) Gray (po·a·ništ), foothill floral area, scraped off with fingernail, rolled into balls 1/4-1/2 in. thick; 3 balls put in succession on spot affected with rheumatism and set on fire; balls "burned like powder." Blisters raised not pricked open immediately.

Pitch from balsam (ana·nu·l), Digger pine, Pinus sabiniana mixed with grease, used as salve on sores in recent times, not aboriginally.

757 For heavy colds, paralysis, 4-5 yellow ants
825 (SM), large red ants (FP), wrapped together in
278 little ball of eagle down; 15-20 of these balls swallowed with sips of water, one ball at time, by man, woman who had abstained from meat for month, fasted for 2-3 days and vomited each morning during fast, previous to taking ants. After swallowing the balls patient frightened, "so the ants would break out of the balls and sting patient"; latter remained in stupor 24 hrs., at end of this time given warm water to induce vomiting. According to MM, if all ants came up alive, patient would recover completely, if half of them were dead he "wouldn't live long," and if all dead he would die shortly. For FP's experience taking ants, see her Autobiography. Yellow ants "could sting hardest and had medicine"; other varieties no good (SM). After taking ants patient ate only little acorn mush for 2-3 days, no meat, grease for month (FP). Live ants also put on sick person's abdomen, "if patient didn't want to drink them" (FP).

824 If woman having protracted labor, person own-
842 ing amulet rubbed this over parturient to hasten
845 delivery. Herbal decoctions were drunk to induce
847 fecundity, to prevent conception and produce
278 abortions but the plant species from which these were made could not be obtained.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 Deity, culture hero.- Concept of supreme deity
776 lacking; "people didn't know about the man who

[p. 60(a)]

"people didn't know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, moreover, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
773 ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[71] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
776 said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
[823] "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among TÜbatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[17] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which TÜbatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 776 human or animal in form, who dwelt in certain localities; all these humanly shaped beings, together with shaman's animal helpers and many other animals, as bear, deer, coyote, rattlesnake, owl, hawks, etc., referred to generically as yu·mu·gi·wal, term which SM equated with Yokuts tipni (Kroeber, Handbook, 512) when it was used in reference to animals. Belief in these yu·mu·gi·wal entered into many phases of daily life; yu·mu·gi·wal not necessarily malevolently inclined, but all such had to be respected, more or less feared. Included among them were small dwarfs or "brownies" (ya'hI'Iwal) about 3 ft. high, who "looked like Indians." When hunters out camping at night, these dwarfs sometimes threw pebbles at them as they sat around fire; men picked up pebbles, spat tobacco juice on them, threw them back to dwarfs who could be heard sniffing greedily at rocks in dark, licking off tobacco juice. Brownies also occasionally actually appeared to people (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207); "when he was ill, Tony Pablo saw one of these yumugiwal looking in through the window at him; the dwarf had come to see what was the matter with him, but he didn't make Tony sick" (MM). While in jimsonweed trance MM had seen dwarf, who advised him to take second dose of jimsonweed. Pictographs in area (figs. 13, 14) also attributed to these brownies.

Many yu·mu·gi·wal are water spirits; in every spring, pool, river there dwells spirit who owns that particular body of water. One evening SM had

532

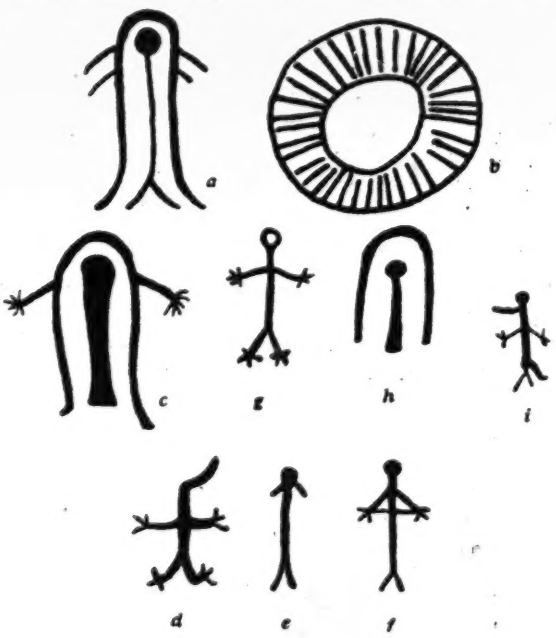

Fig. 13. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 6.

[p. 61(a)]

531
532

Fig. 14. Pictographs at hamlet site no. 2.

774
776 seen an old woman going from one spring to another on his rancheria; this old woman lived in and owned one of the springs; at another spring an otter (?), le·uše·p, could often be heard, crying "č, č, č." Man fishing at Kernville had seen small person, pa·nugiš, with human hands, fingernails 2 in. long, pulling at his line in water, whereupon fisherman had fled. Very tall man, black-skinned, was seen one morning standing on rock beside Fay creek; man who saw him went toward him, thinking creature was human being, but when man approached him, creature jumped in water, "where he lived in a large rock, which was his home" (SM). A tall man, poko, who wears a long dress of feathers or fur, lives in large rock by Chimney canyon; imut, another manlike creature, lives in mts.; anangayat lives in deep fissure

[p. 61 (6)]

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mĭgĭtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 203).

773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 ●776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [[71] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; TÜbatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among TÜbatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and
[787] watery."

Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet.
Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured;
[178] often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

788 787 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 788 ●776 276 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day, in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills; sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 765 572 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service. PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and